

Images of Japan in Four Korean World Maps Compiled in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Kenneth R. Robinson

In Japan are four Korean world maps believed to have been compiled in the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century. Each world map presents the area from Japan at the viewer's far right to continental Europe at the far left, and the landmass in between includes Africa, the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula, India, China, and at least portions of Southeast Asia. Previous scholarship has divided these four map artifacts into two branches originating in the Korean world map completed in 1402 and entitled *Honil kangni yöktae kukto chi to* (Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals), but no longer extant. The four extant world maps, and almost certainly the 1402 text, too, present an image of Japan that was based upon an earlier Korean representation of that island country.

The image of Japan in the oldest of the four extant world maps is thought to have derived from the 1402 world map or from an intermediate generation world map. A second Korean world map bearing the same title as the oldest extant world map presents a similar image of Japan. The images in the latter two extant world maps emerged from a different Korean mapping of Japan, from *Haedong chegukki* (Record of Relations with Countries across the Sea to the East), a government report on relations with Japan and Ryukyu that was presented to King Söngjong in early 1472. The maps in *Haedong chegukki* set Japan amid the maritime world of northeast Asia and linked the island country through trade and diplomacy with Chosön and through trade (and possibly also diplomacy) with Ryukyu.

Each extant world map will be introduced separately below. Potential datings of each map will be followed by discussion of their respective images of Japan. The degree of detail will reflect the breadth of features and problems in each representation. These four images of Japan followed the form and discourses if not of the image of Japan in the 1402 world map then of that in a subsequent world map. However, the latter two extant world maps, which are held at the Tenri Library and at the Honmyōji temple, did not set Japan in regional discourses that inform the maps in *Haedong chegukki*. Korean mapmakers who were involved in the Tenri and Honmyōji world maps embedded Japan rather in an established spatialization that did not link Japan, Chosön, and Ryukyu through interaction.

The Image of Japan in the Oldest Extant Korean World Map

The four extant Korean world maps are *Honil kangni yöktae kukto chi to* (hereafter as the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*), held at Ryūkyō University, in Kyoto, Japan; *Honil kangni*

yöktae kukto chi to, held at the Honkōji temple, in Shimabara, Japan; *Tae Myōng-guk to*, held at the Tenri Library, Tenri University, in Tenri, Japan; and *Tae Myōng-guk chido*, held at the Honmyōji temple, in Kumamoto, Japan. The scholarship divides these texts into two branches that without doubt trace back to the 1402 world map. The first two world maps above are placed in the first branch, the third and fourth maps above in the second branch.

Extending from right to left across the bottom of the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* is a commemoration that Kwŏn Kūn, Assistant Councillor in the State Council (K. *Ŭijŏngbu Ch'amch'ansa*, senior second grade), wrote for the 1402 *Kangnido*. Kwŏn explained the provenance of much of the 1402 *Kangnido* in two Chinese maps and the addition of a more detailed depiction of Chosŏn and a map of Japan, the result “making [the 1402 *Kangnido*] a new map entirely, nicely organized and well worth admiration.”¹⁾ Important features of the 1402 world map compared to the Chinese texts from which the mapmaker worked thus are the depictions of Chosŏn and Japan. The image of Japan is generally believed to have derived from a map of Japan that the Korean official Pak Tonji compiled in Japan. And the image of Japan in the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* is generally considered to reflect that in the 1402 *Kangnido*.

The Chosŏn government's earliest confirmed image of Japan was born in part of its difficulties in halting the Japanese pirate raids of coastal and inland areas that had continued since 1350. Naval successes from the 1380s helped the Koryŏ government to slow landfall, but trade opportunities offered by the Chosŏn court after 1392 and local pressure in Japan gradually shifted exchange from violent appropriation to regularized, sanctioned trade in the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The Ōuchi, a powerful family based in westernmost Honshu, cultivated friendly relations with the Korean government, and this included assisting the Chosŏn court in its relations with the Muromachi bakufu.

In 1397.12, King T'aejo (r. 1392.7–1398.9) appointed Pak Tonji as Reciprocation Envoy (K. *Hoeyesa*) and ordered him to accompany the representatives of Ōuchi Yoshihiro to Japan. Yoshihiro's envoys had arrived in Chosŏn in 1397.7 bearing a letter addressed to the State Council (K. *Todang*), an office which was directly below the monarch. The State Council replied in a 1397.12 letter entrusted to Pak. In Japan, Pak met Yoshihiro and delivered that communication, which expressed the court's displeasure with the piracy.²⁾ The Korean envoy was in Kyoto in the eighth month of 1398, and met Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who, having been shogun from 1367 until his retirement in 1394.12, now controlled foreign relations as the retired shogun. Yoshimitsu responded to the complaints about the predations by “the pirates of the three islands” (K. *samdo waegu*) and ordered the Ōuchi to gather troops and attack the raiders.³⁾ Some scholars believe that Pak produced a map of Japan during this visit.⁴⁾ His presence in Chosŏn is next noted on 1399.5.16, when the second monarch, King Chŏngjong (r. 1398.9–1400.11), received the envoy of the “Nihon-koku Tai-Shogun,” who had accompanied the Korean envoy to Chosŏn.⁵⁾

Pak is reported to have traveled to Japan a second time. Other scholars date his map of Japan to this visit.⁶⁾ An entry in the Korean veritable records dated 1438.2.19, and many years after Pak's death, states that Pak traveled to Japan in the “spring of Jianwen 3,” or 1401. While in Ōuchi lands, he produced a map of Japan from maps

made available by Hirai Dōjō. He placed a surface over the first map and traced it. However, as the first map lacked Tsushima and Iki, he added those two islands from a second text.⁷⁾

Sailing home from Japan, Pak must have returned to Chosŏn and likely reached the capital with his image of Japan by 1401.8.2. On that day, as Honorary Magistrate of Hansŏng-bu (K. *Kŏmgyo Hansŏng-yun*) he sent a memorial (K. *sangso*) regarding tribute tax deliveries from the southern provinces to King T'aejong (r. 1400.11–1418.8).⁸⁾ Six weeks later, Yoshimitsu traveled to see a Korean ship (or ships) in the port of Hyōgo, near Kyoto, on 1401.9.16.⁹⁾ Pak almost certainly could not have been aboard that ship. Whatever the date of Pak's map of Japan, the 1402 *Kangnido* introduced Japan, and Chosŏn, too, into a new type of mapped world.

The Ryūkoku *Kangnido*'s Map of Japan

A discussion of the representation of Japan in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* must begin with an outline of the background to the 1402 *Kangnido*. The Korean official who compiled the 1402 *Kangnido* fashioned this world from Chinese, Korean, and Japanese cartography, and at least one of the Chinese maps he used had been compiled in part, whether directly or through an earlier Chinese map (or maps), from Islamic cartography. The 1402 *Kangnido*, a heteroglossic image of a knowable world, combined two fourteenth-century Chinese maps, which Korean officials obtained almost certainly after the establishment of Ming China in 1368 and Chosŏn in 1392, with new renderings of Chosŏn and Japan. Pak's map of the island country reached the Chosŏn court by the eighth month of 1401, and the King of Chosŏn received a new map of Chosŏn in 1402.5.¹⁰⁾ That map of the peninsula is believed to have become the base map for the first Korean world map's image of Chosŏn. This world map likely was completed on or after 1479.1.10 and on or by 1485.11.28, or it shows Chosŏn of that period.¹¹⁾

On 1479.1.10 the Chosŏn government created a Left Province Navy Commander (*Chŏlla-do Chwado Sugun Chŏltosa*, senior third grade) post for Sunch'ŏn County and a Right Province Navy Commander (*Chŏlla-do Udo Sugun Chŏltosa*, senior third grade) post for Haenam County, both in Chŏlla Province. In the image of Chosŏn these two military posts each are identified by the term "*suyŏng*," which indicates a navy commandery.¹²⁾ On 1485.11.28, the Chosŏn government closed the Kyŏnggi Province Navy Commandery at Hwaryang, in Namyang County, and overseen by the Kyŏnggi Province Navy Commander (*Kyŏnggi-do Sugun Chŏltosa*, senior third grade) stationed there.¹³⁾

The reproduction of the two fourteenth-century Chinese maps in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* loosened their moorings in Chinese cartographic, administrative, and other discourses. The map constructed in part from Islamic cartography, the *Shengjiao guangbei tu* (Map of the Vast Reach of [Civilization's] Resounding Teachings) attributed to Li Zemin, reflected a transfer to a Chinese project of data selected and arranged in an earlier, foreign cartographic practice. The transfer from Islamic cartography also required the linguistic turn of place names, including any non-Arabic place names rendered into Persianized Arabic, into Chinese characters. The Korean mapmaker almost certainly reproduced the characters selected in Yuan China. He removed from Chinese contexts, priorities, and preferences information that earlier had been re-

moved from another mapmaker and another map's contexts, priorities, and preferences. A shorter process of displacement seems to have attended the transmission of the second Chinese map, the *Hunyi jiangli tu* (Map of Integrated Regions and Terrains) attributed to the monk Qingjun. Judging from the image of Yuan China that appears in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*, the 1402 *Kangnido* too showed Yuan China. Each Korean world map that showed Yuan China presented an anachronistic image of China.

The image of Japan entered the 1402 *Kangnido* similarly. Map historians and other scholars commonly see the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*'s representation as resembling those in manuscript versions of *Shūgaishō* (Collection of Oddments), a text that was circulating in Japan at least from the fifteenth century. Of the several extant manuscript versions that predate 1600, three include a map of Japan called "Map of Great Japan" (J. *Dai Nippon-koku zu*).¹⁴⁾ The general shape of the country in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*'s image is similar to those in the 1548 "Map of Great Japan" and the 1589 "Map of Great Japan."¹⁵⁾

Following earlier scholarship in assuming that the placement of Japan in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* matches that in the 1402 *Kangnido*, the mapmaker inserted Japan into the first world map further south and further west than the country's geological position. The westward placement likely resulted from the lack of space at that edge of the surface, while the setting on a plane with southern China may have been modeled after Chinese maps.¹⁶⁾ Widely noted is the rotation of the archipelago approximately ninety degrees, setting northern Kyushu at north and eastern Honshu at south. In another envisioning of this world map's orientation of Japan (but not of the country's placement to the south and west), Yi Ch'an set a photographic reproduction of the image of Japan next to a photographic reproduction of the "Map of Great Japan" in (an unspecified version of) *Shūgaishō*. When the "Map of Great Japan" is turned so that Kyushu is at the top, the shapings of Japan in these two images are seen to be quite similar.¹⁷⁾ However the positioning of Japan may be viewed, the areas nearest the peninsula geologically, that is, Tsushima, Iki, and Kyushu, remained the closest in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*. These also were the areas from which pirates had sailed since 1350 and into the early fifteenth century.

In addition, the mapmaker placed the island of Tsushima close to the peninsula and on almost the same plane as Cheju, a Korean island in the southwestern province of Chōlla. In their geological settings, too, the two islands are at similar latitudes, and Tsushima, as in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* and as in actuality, is at the more northern latitude. In the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* Tsushima is identified by a three-character combination that appears commonly in Korean texts but not in Japanese texts. In the Korean reading, the island's name becomes Taema-do.

Setting aside the western and southern placement of the islands, the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*'s representation of Japan contains numerous problems and mistakes in shaping the islands, in administrative geography, and in naming. If this image is a faithful reproduction of that in the 1402 *Kangnido*, the deficiencies suggest limits to the knowledge of Japan held, at the least, by the official who marked Japan into this first Korean world map. If this image of Japan is unique to the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*, the inadequacies may be attributed to the mapmaker who composed the island country. The discussion turns to the many problems in the depiction of Japan in this oldest extant Ko-

rean world map. Several varieties of miscue are described below.

1. The Missing Sea

An oft-noted error is the lack of a sea between Shikoku and Honshu. That is, these two islands appear as a single landform. Attached to Honshu is a space divided into four sections by solid lines. The mapmaker probably intended these four sections to be the four provinces of Shikoku. The error of affixing Shikoku to Honshu must have been pointed out, for the island's four provinces were re-drawn to the viewer's left of and affixed to the mistake. In other words, the mistake and the second composition of Shikoku extend unbroken from the Honshu coast. The appropriate province name was then written into each bounded space. Between these two sets of four bounded areas was marked Awaji Province. However, this island was drawn in such a way that it borders both sets. In other words, the island province of Awaji was attached to the mistaken Shikoku and the re-drawn Shikoku. The four unnamed spaces about the Honshu provinces of, from east to west, Harima, Bitchū, and Bizen (See below for amplification of this Honshu geography). It cannot be known whether this problem occurred in 1402 or during the preparation of the Ryūoku *Kangnido*. Korean viewers required reference material, instruction, or prior knowledge of Japanese geography to know that water separated Honshu, Shikoku, and Awaji Province and to know that Shikoku and Awaji were separate islands.

2. Administrative Geography

Various problems confuse the administrative geography of Japan. These include unmarked space, missing provinces, misplaced provinces, and unmarked province boundary lines. First, there are three spaces marked as provinces by boundary lines but not named. Two of these spaces are in Honshu, each east of Kyoto. The third space, in Kyushu, will be treated separately below.

The first, and easternmost, of the two unidentified spaces in Honshu is north of a series of provinces—Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa—along the southern coast of Honshu and south of Shinano Province. This is Kai Province. The second unidentified space in Honshu is on the eastern coast.

In this second space a line bends through the area to the viewer's left of Hitachi Province. That line extends to or begins from the sea, but is interrupted by damage that has also obscured the first character in the province name "Shimōsa." To the viewer's left of that line are three province names in an area with no boundary markers separating them: Shimōsa, Kazusa, and Awa. Three interpretations may be possible. First, the interrupted line may have been drawn as a provincial boundary marker. If so, it added a province to the viewer's left. In this instance, the error would be in inserting a province where none existed. Second, the space was intended to be Shimōsa, however, that place name was written further to the viewer's left. In this instance, the error would be in writing the province name Shimōsa outside the province. Or, third, and more simply, the line was drawn in error.

A second issue in the administrative geography is the absence of the names of four provinces. One of these four provinces is Yamashiro Province, where Kyoto, the capital of Japan in the fifteenth century, was located. This province's area is marked in a

circular, red-colored cartouche inside of which is written the country name “Ilbon” (J. *Nihon*), or Japan. Naming the country took precedence over naming the province, though. This usage of the country name resembles the writing of the country name “Chosŏn” in the cartouche for the Korean capital. The absence of this province’s name reflects the marking of the Korean capital, where the name of the administrative unit called Hansŏng-bu is not written.

In the second instance of a missing province name, both the area for and the province name for Izu Province are not marked. Izu Province should be south of Suruga Province to the northwest and Sagami Province to the northeast. The third and fourth unnamed provinces match the two remaining unidentified provincial spaces. In Kyushu, Hizen Province fits the blank space in the island’s northeast. In eastern Honshu, Kai Province is the westernmost of the two unidentified Honshu spaces.

A third problem is the arrangement of provinces. Along the Inland Sea and north-east of the island of Shikoku are three provinces that begin with the same character. From east to west in the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*, these are Bitchū, Bizen, and Bingo. The first and second provinces border the mis-drawn island of Shikoku. However, the first two province names, Bitchū and Bizen, are in reverse order in the image. In these province names the second character indicates the province’s geographical location vis-à-vis the Japanese emperor and the capital, and thus vis-à-vis the other two provinces in the trio. As these provinces are west of Kyoto, from east to west their order should be Bizen, Bitchū, and Bingo, or front (J. *zen*), middle (J. *chū*), and behind (J. *go*). That is, Bizen is closest to the emperor and the capital.

Fourth, the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* lacks boundary lines for numerous provinces. In eleven instances, a single bounded space holds two or more province names. From Kyushu eastward, these combinations are:

1. Chikugo and Bungo
2. Suō and Aki
3. Mimasaka, (the misplaced) Bitchū, Harima, and Settsu
4. Tanba and Ōmi
5. Izumi, Kawachi, and Iga
6. Kii, Yamato, and Shima
7. Echizen and Kaga
8. Hida, Mino, Owari, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Kōzuke, and Mutsu
9. Noto and Etchū
10. Sagami and Shimotsuke
11. Awa, Kazusa, and Shimōsa

With the exception of Chikugo and Bungo provinces, all of these provinces are in Honshu. In total, thirty-three provinces lack individual boundary icons.

3. Miswritten Place Names

The third form of problem is the miswriting of place names. These mistakes too belie confusion about archipelago geography. The errors seem to have occurred for varied reasons.

The mistake in the first example was a simple one. In identifying Nagato Province, one of the Ōuchi family's holdings in western Honshu, 長, the first character in Nagato, was written as 良, rendering the province as 良門 rather than as Nagato 長門. Given the similarities in the first characters in these two compounds, a Korean elite not familiar with archipelago geography likely misread 長 as 良.

Another instance is the writing of "Kamakura," recorded in the image as 鎌鎗. The second character, 鎗, is not that in the appropriate Japanese writing of this place name, which is 鎌倉, and is not read in Japanese as *kura*. However, in Korean the character 鎗 shares the same reading, *ch'ang*, with the appropriate character for *kura*, 倉.¹⁸⁾ Perhaps the Korean mapmaker who (first) wrote the character 鎗 worked from the Korean pronunciation of the Japanese writing of "Kamakura."

The identification of the port city of Hakata (current Fukuoka), in Chikuzen Province, in northern Kyushu, may, or may not, be a third instance. Hakata is present likely because Korean envoys bound for Kyoto in the second half of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century passed through this port city en route to and from the Japanese capital. In Japanese "Hakata" is written with two characters, as 博多. In Korean, this combination is read as "Pakta." This compound was not unknown to Korean officials prior to 1402.¹⁹⁾ But Korean officials also wrote this place name using three characters to represent in Korean the three Japanese syllabary sounds of *ha/ka/ta*. For example, Song Hŭigyŏng, an envoy who passed through the city in 1420, wrote "Pakkadae" (朴加大).²⁰⁾ Koreans also wrote or printed the city name as P'agado (霸家島)²¹⁾ and as P'agat'ae (霸家臺).²²⁾ In the world map is what would appear to be Paktadae (博多大).²³⁾ This combination may be another three-character writing of "Hakata." I have not yet found the Paktadae 博多大 combination of characters in the writings of Korean elites, travel records, or other written texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Another interpretation of "Paktadae" might be offered. The three characters 博多大 present a different form of error. The third character may not have referred to Hakata. It may have referred, and perhaps in confusion, to the Dazaifu, a regional administration office, also in Chikuzen Province, established in the second half of the seventh century for the administration and defense of Kyushu. The first character in "Dazaifu," 大, is the same character as the third character in "Paktadae." If the third character in "Paktadae" did refer to the Dazaifu, then the second and third characters in "Dazaifu," 宰 and 府, were lost in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* or at an earlier stage. A viewer would, again, have required prior knowledge of Japanese geography or administration to recognize and read such problems.

The Ryūkoku *Kangnido* (and two subsequent extant Korean world maps) also preserved administrative and place names in today's northern Honshu. Four names appear in addition to those for Mutsu and Dewa provinces. These are Tsugaru Ōsato, Ezochi, Chinju-fu, and Shirakawa-no-seki.²⁴⁾ However, the maps in three extant pre-1600 manuscript copies of *Shūgaishō* each include only Tsugaru Ōsato, Ezochi, and Chinju-fu. Two maps in *Haedong chegukki* have these four names. The regional map of northeast Asia called "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East" (K. *Haedong cheguk ch'ongdo*) and the "Map of the Main Island of Japan" (K. *Ilbon ponguk chi to*) have the four terms in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*.²⁵⁾

However the three characters 博多大 are read, the place names in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*'s image of Japan exhibit few errors in transcription. Viewed more broadly, though, the various errors and confusions in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*'s image of Japan expose an unsteady grasp of that country's natural and administrative geographies. Of the sixty-eight provinces, problems accompany the marking of forty-three provinces, including Yamashiro Province. The errors also suggest that other available, newer images, such as those in *Haedong chegukki*, were not consulted.

Honkōji's *Honil kangni yōktae kukto chi to*

Honkōji preserves a world map entitled *Honil kangni yōktae kukto chi to*, hereafter, as the Honkōji *Kangnido*. This world map is considered to be of the same branch as the 1402 *Kangnido* and the Ryūoku *Kangnido* primarily because of its reproduction of Yuan China. The Honkōji *Kangnido* image of Japan greatly resembles that in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*.²⁶⁾

The Honkōji *Kangnido* has been dated to between 1513 and 1549, to between 1567 and 1592, and to between 1605 and around 1767.²⁷⁾ A more precise dating of the first two periods sets the compilation of the Honkōji *Kangnido*, or the period shown in the image of Chosŏn, to between 1512.3.15 and 1549.5.21, and to from on or after 1567.10.12 to 1592. The date of 1513 derives presumably from the Chosŏn court's re-naming of Kilsŏng County, in Hamgyŏng Province, as Kilchu County on 1512.3.15.²⁸⁾ The periods 1513–1549 and 1567–1592 relate to the administrative history of Ch'ungju County, in Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. On 1549.5.21 the Chosŏn court renamed Ch'ungju County as Yusin County and reduced the county's rank from City to Small County (*hyŏn*, staffed by a *hyŏngam* [Small County Magistrate, junior sixth grade]), or to the lowest administrative status for magistracies. On 1567.10.12, the court restored the place name Ch'ungju and returned the county to the status of City.²⁹⁾ Why the date of 1592, the year in which Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Chosŏn, has been forwarded is unclear. The Korean government is not known to have changed this county's name in 1592.³⁰⁾

The dating of from 1605 to around 1767 is not tenable. Unno Kazutaka based this dating upon the view that two counties identified in the image of Chosŏn, Kilchu and Myŏngch'ŏn, could both have been open simultaneously from 1605.³¹⁾ However, from the 1510s the Chosŏn court appointed City Magistrates (K. *Moksa*, senior third rank) to Kilchu County and Small County Magistrates (K. *Hyŏngam*, junior sixth rank) to Myŏngch'ŏn. The completion of this map cannot be dated to the seventeenth century or the eighteenth century based upon these two Korean counties.

Other data in the Honkōji *Kangnido*'s representation of Chosŏn might be considered for dating this world map. The image shows Hwaryang. As in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*, there is a cartouche bearing the place name "Hwaryang" and a cartouche bearing the term "*suyŏng*." These were drawn in the sea west of Namyang. As noted, the Chosŏn court closed the Navy Commandery at Hwaryang on 1485.11.28. The government reopened that Navy Commandery by 1556.1.4, on which date is the first confirmation of a military official serving there since the closing.³²⁾ However, the confirmation on 1556.1.4 does not eliminate the period of between 1512.3.15 and 1549.5.21 as a time during which Chosŏn is depicted. With a Navy Commander serving at the Hwaryang

base on 1556.1.4, it may be stated at the least that the image of Chosŏn shows the country from on or after 1567.10.12.

Further complicating the dating of this map's compilation is a navy commander headquarters in Kyŏngsang Province. The Honkōji *Kangnido* shows the headquarters of the Kyŏngsang Province Left Province Navy Commander (K. *Kyŏngsang-do chwado Sugun Chŏltosa*) in the province's southeastern corner. The government transferred this naval base from the port of Kaeun, Ulsan County, westward to the port of Haeun, Tongnae County, in the sixteenth century. That date, however, is not known. The map historian O Sanghak has suggested 1534 as the earliest date by which the government transferred the left province navy commandery.³³⁾ There seems to be no evidence for that move having occurred by at least 1544.9.26.³⁴⁾ If the transfer and the reopening of the navy commander headquarters at Hwaryang occurred on or prior to 1549.5.21, then the world map was compiled or shows Chosŏn on or prior to that date. If either or both the transfer and the reopening of the naval base at Hwaryang occurred after 1549.5.21, then the world map was compiled or shows Chosŏn on or after 1567.10.12.

Like the Ryūkoku *Kangnido* image of Japan, that in the Honkōji *Kangnido* too almost certainly derived from the representation in an earlier generation world map. This second image of Japan "is similar" to those found in extant editions of *Shūgaishō*. There also is one feature, a lake (Lake Biwa?) to the east of the Japanese capital, which is not found in the "Great Map of Japan." A lake in that location appears in the "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East" and the "Map of the Main Island of Japan" in *Haedong chegukki*, but Kawamura Hirotada suggests that maps in this government report were not used in compiling this vision of Japan.³⁵⁾ The report's portrayal of Ryukyu in the "Map of Ryukyu" (K. *Yugu-guk chi to*), though, provided the base for this world map's image of that country.³⁶⁾ As the Korean mapmaker(s) of the Honkōji *Kangnido* or an earlier world map consulted *Haedong chegukki* for the map of Ryukyu, it would seem more likely that the lake in the image of Japan too came from an earlier usage of the government report. That lake is in both the regional map "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East" and the "Map of the Main Island of Japan."

This world map's surface extends further east of the Korean peninsula than the surface for the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*. As a result, there is space for setting the Japanese islands in a horizontal manner near to the peninsula and further east of Chosŏn, or closer to its geological position. The mapmaker's first outlining of these islands in black ink is visible in some parts of Honshu and Shikoku. The coloring of land did not extend in every province to that line, though. A second black ink line bounds the coloring, leaving two such lines for some provinces.

Place names and the marking of Shikoku lack the types of problems identified in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*, but damage to the surface has obscured several province names and characters. Damage has rendered the following provinces not visible: Suō and Iwami (Honshu), Tosa and Iyo (Shikoku), and Higo, Bungo, Ōsumi, Hyūga, and Satsuma (Kyushu). The first characters in the province names "Izumo," "Ōki," an island along the west coast of Honshu, and "Dewa," in northeast Honshu, are barely legible. And the second characters in the province names "Awa," in Shikoku, and

“Izumo,” along the western coast of Honshu, are not visible. The place names Tsugaru Ōsato and Amakusa-tsu also are obscured, if one or both were inscribed.

Three further features of the Honkōji *Kangnido*’s image of Japan might also be noted. The first is Tsushima. In Japan, this island’s name was written with two characters. In Chosŏn, the island was called Taema-do and written with three characters. The first two characters in both island names match, and the third character in the Korean rendering is “island.” In the Honkōji *Kangnido*, however, the island’s name was written as “Tsushima.” This is noteworthy because court histories, maps (including the three other extant world maps), and many Korean texts call this island Taema-do. Second, the individual who wrote “Tsushima” (or “Taema,” perhaps?) used an alternate character (J. *itaiji*) for the first character rather than the standard form. That alternate character was used in Japan.³⁷⁾ Third, the calligraphy for the written text in Japan is in a different hand than that which wrote place names in other countries and areas. The ink differs, too. Also, the island was drawn further south of the peninsula and closer to Kyushu than as in the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*. These points may allow for consideration of the possibility that Japanese contributed to the compilation of this world map.

The presentation of Japan in the Honkōji *Kangnido* reflected the resolution, whether in that world map or in an earlier generation world map, of problems which had diminished the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*. Shikoku is drawn as one piece of land, and the inland sea flows between that island and Honshu. The three provinces of Bizen, Bitchū, and Bingo are named in the proper order from east to west. The name for Nagato Province is written with the appropriate first character. Provinces are bounded into individual spaces. The image of Japan in the Honkōji *Kangnido* is, to the extent visible, geographically accurate in its presentation of the capital and provinces and accurate in its writing of province names.

Tenri Library’s *Tae Myōng-guk to*

Two other Korean world maps are preserved in the Tenri Library and Honmyōji. Based upon the consistent depiction of the Eurasian continent and other landforms and upon the consistent recording of place names across the four map artifacts, these texts too are believed to stem ultimately from the 1402 *Kangnido*. Unlike the two extant *Kangnido* branch maps, though, these two texts have Ming China. And their depictions of Japan and Ryukyu, which demonstrate an earlier generation’s reference to *Haedong chegukki*, also differ from those in the *Kangnido* branch maps. The Tenri and Honmyōji texts have been described as sister maps derived from an earlier generation world map, one possibly of several generations removed from the 1402 *Kangnido*.³⁸⁾ The compiler of that earlier generation world map’s depiction of Japan composed the island country primarily from the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East,” and also consulted the “Map of the Main Island of Japan” and the “Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan” (K. *Ilbon-guk Sōhaedo Kujū chi to*).

The Tenri holding has been dated to between 1549 and 1568 based upon a county name in Chosŏn that does not appear in the other three extant world maps.³⁹⁾ This map may be dated with more precision. On 1549.5.21 the Chosŏn court renamed Ch’ungju County as Yusin County, which is the place name found only in the Tenri

image of Chosŏn. On 1567.10.12, the court restored the place name Ch'ungju.⁴⁰⁾ The Tenri map may be dated to between on or after 1549.5.21 and on or by 1567.10.12.

The Korean government reopened the naval base at Hwaryang, in Namyang County and staffed it again with a Navy Commander sometime prior to 1556.1.4. The Tenri world map's image of Chosŏn has the words "Namyang" and "*suyŏng*," the latter being a standard term for a navy commander headquarters. Between the cartouche in the sea bearing the term "*suyŏng*" and the writing of "Namyang" is an empty cartouche in the peninsula and west of "Namyang." Based upon data in the other world maps, "Hwaryang" would have been written in that cartouche. Despite the absence of the port name Hwaryang, present in the Tenri world map is an identification of the navy commander headquarters in Namyang County. If the Chosŏn government reopened the navy commandery at Hwaryang after 1549.5.21, then the Tenri world map was compiled between the date of the reopening and 1567.10.12. Or it was reproduced after the later date. If this navy commander headquarters was reopened prior to 1549.5.21, then the period from on or after 1549.5.21 to on or by 1567.10.12 is that during which the Tenri world map was compiled or is that shown in the world map.

There is no title written on the map, but it has been named, in the Korean reading, *Tae Myŏng-guk to* (J. *Dai Min-koku zu*; Map of Great Ming China). How this title came to be attached is unclear. As the title indicates, Ming China is depicted. More specifically, this is the country from between 1476 and 1524.⁴¹⁾ The presentation of Ming China rather than Yuan China in the Tenri and Honmyōji texts separates these two maps from the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* and the Honkōji *Kangnido*.

Further, the images of Chosŏn in these two world maps vary distinctively from those in these two *Kangnido* world maps. In the Tenri and Honmyōji text, the contours of the shapes-and-forces networks through the shapings of rivers and mountain ranges, the insertion of all Korean civil provincial administration seat names into cartouches, the additional cartouches in the sea off the coast of Hamgyŏng Province, the drawing of Mt. Paektu, and the term in the capital cartouche match. They thus vary from the images in the two *Kangnido* world maps. Also, fewer mountains, rivers, and other natural features are named.

That the title and the lists of data directly below the title on the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* and the Honkōji *Kangnido*, and presumably on the 1402 *Kangnido*, too, were not transferred to the Tenri and Honmyōji world maps, and presumably to one or more previous generations in this second branch, may be attributed to at least three reasons. First, the title on the two *Kangnido* map artifacts, *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*, was no longer applicable. The term *honil*, or "integrated," referred to the territory under Yuan control from after the absorption of Southern Song, and claimed also to include "lands beyond the seas, lands where the sun rises and sets, and myriad small countries."⁴²⁾ Second, the list of Yuan administrative units was now anachronistic, and an inappropriate gesture toward Ming China if written on a world map that showed Ming China. And third, these two world maps show Ming China. Updating the administrative and territorial geographies of China also meant dropping references to Yuan China.

The Tenri world map's surface lacks sufficient space to the right (east) of Chosŏn for locating Japan there. The image thus is set further west than the geological location

and almost directly below Chosŏn. In this placement Tsushima is east of Kyoto. The mapping of Japan differs from those in the other three world maps for showing a small number of place names and other written information. It has been suggested that the mapmaker reproduced Japan directly or indirectly from maps in *Haedong chegukki*, or through such an image of Japan in an earlier generation world map.⁴³⁾

Before proceeding with the description of the Tenri world map's image of Japan, maps of Japan in *Haedong chegukki* and discourses informing those texts will be introduced. The government report includes six maps showing all or parts of Japan. The "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East," the first map in the set, shows maritime Northeast Asia, or Ryukyu, Japan, and the southeastern corner of Chosŏn. The next five images, all in greater detail than the Japan in this regional map, are of Honshu and Shikoku (over two folios), Kyushu, the island of Iki ("Map of Iki Island, Japan" [K. *Ilbon-guk Ilgi-do chi to*]), and the island of Tsushima ("Map of Tsushima Island, Japan" [K. *Ilbon-guk Taema-do chi to*]).

In the government report's individual maps and also the "Map of Ryukyu," lines cutting through the waters link various places in Japan with Ryukyu, and extend from Kyushu through Iki and Tsushima to Chosŏn. These lines represent routes along which trade ships sailed to and from the Naha area of Ryukyu, and within Japan. Stretching through the inland sea from Hakata to Kyoto is one section of the route taken by Korean embassies dispatched by the King of Chosŏn to meet the shogun. Within the shapings of Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu are province names, city names, and natural features such as mountains, rivers, and a lake. Discourses of trade and diplomacy are easily read when data in the maps are linked with information in the report's main text.

Returning to the Tenri world map, the image identifies the capital as it appears in the regional map and the map of Honshu. The capital is drawn as a circle; inside the circle and written in two columns are "Ilbon," on the right, and "*kukto*" (J. *kokuto*), or the capital, on the left. This layout and written text match those in the "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East" and the "Map of the Main Island of Japan."

The eight circuits are all named, and set within vertical rectangle cartouches. Their placement follows the arrayal in the "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East," the "Map of the Main Island of Japan," and the "Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan." "Kinai" in the *Haedong chegukki* maps seems to have been written here as "Kinaidō."

Only ten of the sixty-eight provinces are identified, however. Those provinces are Tsushima, Sado, Ōmi, Shinano, Shima, Awaji, and the four provinces in Shikoku (Iyo, Sanuki, Awa, and Tosa). The pattern by which the four Shikoku provinces are divided by boundary lines matches that in the "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East," suggesting that this map may have been the primary referent in *Haedong chegukki* for the mapping of Japan in the first Korean world map to have been compiled from reference to that government report. Sado was an island province in the sea off the western coast of Honshu, and Ōmi Province bordered Yamashiro Province (marked, but not named) to its east. Shinano Province is identified inside the circle showing Mt. Fuji; that province name is written to the left of the mountain name. Shima Province is depicted as an island, though the province was located in Honshu, east of Kii Prov-

ince, and along the inland sea. This placement too reflects the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East” and the “Map of the Main Island of Japan.” And in the inland sea Awaji Province was inaccurately identified as a toll barrier (J. *seki*), as “Awaji-no-seki.”

Islands that were not provinces and island icons were drawn along the southern and western coast of Kyushu, the western coast of Honshu, and in the inland sea. Named inside the island shapes are Iōjima, written incorrectly as J. *ishi/i/ō*. (This island has the same name in the Honkōji *Kangnido*.) Iōjima is named correctly in the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East” map and the “Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan.” Also marked are Amakusa-tsu, Mishima, Mitsukejima, Ezogashima, Ōshima, Onomichi-no-seki, and the imaginary land of Gandō. The word “Kyushu,” which is the only naming of the three main islands, is in the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East” and the “Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan.” Amakusa-tsu is in the “Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan.” Mishima, Mitsukejima, Kamado-no-seki, Onomichi-no-seki, Gandō, Ezogashima, and Ōshima all appear in the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East” and the “Map of the Main Island of Japan.”

The inclusion of Onomichi is important for understanding differences between the base images in *Haedong chegukki* and the images in the Tenri and Honmyōji world maps. The vertical writing of “Onomichi-no-seki” matches the marking in the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East.” Onomichi appears in this and the Honshu maps as a stop on the route followed by royal embassies from Pusan to Kyoto. In the latter two world maps, however, that route is not marked, the state-level diplomacy between the Chosŏn and Japanese governments thus not depicted. Onomichi became another island in Japan, the purpose of its presence in the world maps’ images of Japan unclear. Also, the marking as an island and identification as a toll barrier may have informed the mistaken marking of Awaji Province as a toll barrier.

In Honshu also are “Kamakura-dono,” which refers to the office of the Kantō Deputy (J. *Kamakura kubō*, *Kantō kubō*), and, as noted, Mt. Fuji. The office oversaw approximately ten provinces—the number fluctuated over time—in the Kantō area. The vertical writing of “Kamakura-dono” matches that in the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East” and the “Map of the Main Island of Japan.” The written text that accompanies Mt. Fuji is not in the former map and thus derives from the latter. That written text reads, “[Mt. Fuji] is forty *ri* high. There always is snow [on the mountain].”

Tsushima is identified as “Taema-do” and set, as in the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* and the Honmyōji world map, on the same plane as Cheju. Further, the place name “Taema-do” is set inside a vertical rectangle cartouche, and the cartouche is colored the same orange-like tint as many other county cartouches in the image of Chosŏn, including Cheju. No other area in Japan is so marked. This depiction may suggest that the mapmaker presented Tsushima as Korean territory.

The Tenri map also includes three phrases written in vertical rectangle-shaped boxes and placed in the seas around Japan. These three phrases were not culled from maps in *Haedong chegukki*. The note, which is set along the western coast of Honshu, reads, “Port for northern sea trade ships” (K. *Pukhae hūngnisŏn chin*). This text appears

earliest, in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*. The second note, about trade in the “southern sea,” forms a pair in the Tenri and Honmyōji texts with the comment about “northern sea” trade. Placed east of Shikoku in the inland sea area, it reads, “River for southern sea merchants” (K. *Namhae hūngni kang*). The river is not identified further, but that shown flowing from east of the capital southward into the inland sea, generally believed to represent the Yodo River (J. *Yodo-gawa*), is the likely candidate. The notes for the northern sea and the southern sea also appear in the Honmyōji world map.

“North” in “northern sea” and “south” in “southern sea” refer to areas in Japan identified with those two directional terms. These directions are stated explicitly in the geography of Japan recorded around 1598–1599 by Kang Hang, a Korean official taken to Japan as a prisoner of war in late 1597, during the Japanese invasion of Chosŏn (1592–1598). Kang wrote, “It is said that at the far east of Japan is Mutsu Province and at the far west is Hizen Province. From eastern Mutsu to western Hizen is 415 *ri*. At the far south is Kii Province and at the far north is Wakasa Province. From southern Kii to northern Wakasa is eighty-eight *ri*.”⁴⁴) This geography reflects an ancient Japanese order of direction.

North in ancient and medieval Japan extended in the direction of Sado, which is north of the area formerly called Wakasa Province. The *Engi-shiki*, an early tenth-century state compilation of regulations relating to ritual, describes Japan’s expanse as “... from Mutsu in the east, Chiga in the west, Tosa in the south and Sado in the north.”⁴⁵) Chiga refers to the Gotō islands at the western edge of Hizen Province, Tosa to the province in the southern Shikoku and thus further south and west than Kii Province. This is a larger Japan than that outlined by Kang Hang, but the directions lead to the same areas in both constructions.

Returning to the Ryūoku *Kangnido*, it is not yet confirmed whether the Chosŏn government knew of Japanese trade along the western coast of Honshu in 1402, but the court was aware by 1470.10 at the latest of travel by ship along that coast. Japanese traveled to the capital from Wakasa Province in the north and the Yodo River in the south in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if not from earlier. The port in Wakasa Province referred to in the “northern sea” text may be Obama, to which ships from areas further north sailed from at least the fourteenth century.⁴⁶) Individuals on board those vessels then headed overland for trade in the capital of Kyoto. In 1465, the Governor of Tsushima delivered goods to the shogun through the port of Obama.⁴⁷)

In 1470.9, the Japanese monk Jurin related to the Chosŏn government his travel to Kyoto on behalf of King Sejo. Having departed from Chosŏn, he reached Kami-Matsuura, in northwest Kyushu, in 1466.6. After repairs to the ship, he sailed for Kyoto in 1467.2 by going northward along the western coast of Honshu. Upon reaching a port in Wakasa Province in 1467.4, the group then traveled overland, reaching Kyoto about two months later.⁴⁸)

In 1476.7, Korean court officials inquired of a Japanese contact from Iki named Saburōtarō, who previously had received the nominal military post of Third Deputy Commander (K. *Hogun*), which permitted him to visit Chosŏn one time each year for trade, about how Korean embassy ships might reach Kyoto while Japanese warred (that is, the Ōnin War). Saburōtarō replied that ships could sail through the “northern

sea” to Wakasa Province, then travel overland from Wakasa Province, sail by ship for some distance, and then continue overland to the capital. He noted that Hakata and Iki merchants use that route regularly.⁴⁹⁾ This mention of the “northern sea” refers to waters in the “north” of Japan, or the area along the west coast of Honshu also identified in *Engi-shiki* and by Kang Hang.

The third note, written south of Honshu and east of Shikoku, refers to a “shrine” (K. *sa*; J. *hokora*) for Xu Fu in Japan. According to *Haedong chegukki*, “In 219 B.C., Qin Shihuangdi, the first emperor of Qin China, dispatched Xu Fu, who sailed in search of the elixir of eternal life. Xu Fu eventually reached Kii Province, and settled there.”⁵⁰⁾ The third note seems to build upon this brief biography by implying that Xu Fu died in Japan and stating that he is remembered there. The Honkōji *Kangnido* and the Honmyōji world map also present this note, but the former map artifact does not show the two notes about trade.

The image of Japan in the Tenri world map seems to have not been completed. The written text seems to indicate an order by which the mapmaker was preparing the image. He placed the capital circle and the vertical rectangles for the seven circuits named in Honshu and the one in Kyushu, and wrote the names in each figure. This matches the pattern in the “Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East” and in the Honmyōji image.

If the mapmaker intended to set the provinces in Honshu within boundary lines, as the portrayal of Shikoku may suggest, the markings in Honshu are a guide for how those provinces were to be drawn. The capital, Ōmi Province to the viewer’s right of the capital, Mt. Fuji and Shinano Province, and the Kantō Deputy’s office all were set within separate oval or circular shapes, a pattern also seen in the Honmyōji image. Other provinces could be shaped, if provinces were to be outlined, and named around these figures. The marking of provinces could then be extended along Honshu’s shores in the appropriate directions. That is, these four cartouches provided axes around which the other forty-six provinces on the island could be written. (This total is forty-seven if Yamashiro Province is included.) If the provinces were not to be set within boundary lines, as they are not in Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu in the Honmyōji image, the marking first of the capital, the circuits, the large cartouches bearing Ōmi Province, Shinano Province and Mt. Fuji, and the Kantō Deputy still provide a visual and spatial guide for the writing of province names.

In the seas around Honshu the mapmaker marked three island provinces (though Shima Province was not an island province and Awaji was incorrectly identified as a toll barrier) and the four provinces in Shikoku. He divided the provinces in Shikoku by boundary lines. Island provinces and the four Shikoku provinces were easier to design than were the nine provinces in Kyushu and the remaining forty-six provinces in Honshu. They likely were drawn and identified first for that reason. The locations shaped and the place names marked in the Tenri world map’s image of Japan almost certainly offer a view onto how the mapmaker planned this composition. If this is an unfinished representation, then the *Tae Myōng-guk to* is an unfinished map.

Honmyōji’s *Tae Myōng-guk chido*

The world map held by the Honmyōji temple is called, in the Korean reading, *Tae*

Myōng-guk chido (J. *Dai Min-koku chizu*, Map of Great Ming China). This text, too, bears no title and has been so named rather more recently than the early Chosŏn period. How the title came to be attached is unclear. This world map resembles that in the Tenri Library, and it too is believed to derive ultimately from the 1402 *Kangnido*.⁵¹⁾ Korean place names suggest that it was compiled in the second half of the sixteenth century, or is based upon a world map compiled in that general time period. Before outlining the image of Japan's contents, the date of this world map and possible paths to Japan will be considered.

Differing from the Tenri map, the Honmyōji world map's image of Chosŏn shows Ch'ungju County. As explained above, this county name dates the world map's compilation or depiction of Chosŏn to on or before 1549.5.21 or to on or after 1567.10.12. The problems in identifying the dating of the Honkōji world map appear in this image, too. As noted for the Honkōji world map, if the transfer of the navy commander headquarters from Kaeun, Ulsan County, to Haeun, Tongnae County and the reopening of the navy commander headquarters at Hwaryang occurred on or prior to 1549.5.21, then the world map was completed or shows Chosŏn on or prior to that date. If either or both the transfer and the reopening of the naval base at Hwaryang occurred after 1549.5.21, then the world map was completed or shows Chosŏn on or after 1567.10.12.⁵²⁾

At least four proposals for when this world map reached Japan or the temple have been forwarded. Akioka Takejirō suggested that the temple may have received the map after Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Chosŏn ended in 1598.⁵³⁾ Unno Kazutaka considers the years prior to the invasion as more likely, for such a map would have been necessary for pre-war planning.⁵⁴⁾ Yi Ch'an repeated the view that Katō Kiyomasa received the map from Hideyoshi, and then presented it to Honmyōji in the first month of 1592. Noting the method of color application in the *Tae Myōng-guk chido*, he wondered if the Honmyōji holding might not be a reproduction made from the map brought to Japan.⁵⁵⁾

Miya Noriko offers a fourth explanation. Working from the Korean veritable records, she notes two entries from 1593.5 that mention a Korean giving a map of China and Chosŏn (K. *Chungguk Chosŏn chido*) to Kiyomasa. She suggests that "the possibility is extremely high" that the map at Honmyōji is the map of China and Chosŏn that this Korean, Han Kyōk, copied and "presented" (J. *kenjō*) to Kiyomasa, who had led an army into Hamgyōng Province in 1592 and was a benefactor of Honmyōji.⁵⁶⁾

Until corroboration of any these four proposals through documents at Honmyōji or elsewhere which are not currently extant, it may also be useful to consider the context in which Kiyomasa is suggested to have received this map in Chosŏn. As the invading Japanese armies pushed northward, Han Kūkham, who had taken up the post of Kyōngwŏn Special City Magistrate (K. *Taedohobusa*) in the northeast corner of Hamgyōng Province in 1587, now also served as Hamgyōng Province Northern Circuit Army Commander (K. *Hamgyōng Pukto Pyōngma Chōltosa*). Army Commander was the highest post in the military provincial administration system.⁵⁷⁾

Kūkham's units met Kiyomasa's army at Sōngjin, in northern Hamgyōng Province, in the seventh month of 1592. His troops routed, he fled to a nearby Jurchen village. The Jurchens turned the Korean officer away, directing him toward Kyōngwŏn. The

Hamgyŏng Province Northern Circuit Army Commander was soon captured by Kiyomasa's soldiers, though. Kiyomasa's army then proceeded toward Hoeryŏng, west of Kyŏngwŏn, and aided by local Koreans captured two royal princes of King Sŏnjo, the first son the Imhaegun, then 19 *se* old, and the sixth son the Sunhwagun.⁵⁸⁾ In early 1593, the two princes and Kŭkham, and presumably other prisoners of war, too, were moved to Anbyŏn, in southeast Hamgyŏng Province. Kŭkham soon escaped, and reached safety in a Korean military unit.

In the middle of the fifth month of 1593, after the Japanese armies had abandoned the Korean capital of Hansŏng and almost one month after the Korean government had returned to the capital, a letter written by the two princes, who still were held by Kiyomasa, was introduced at court. The princes stated that Kŭkham had sent two daughters to Kiyomasa and that Kyŏk, who was the son of Kŭkham, had given the Japanese general a map (or maps?) of China and Chosŏn (K. *Chungguk kŭp aguk chido*).⁵⁹⁾ Kyŏk also had learned Japanese and was said to have become close to Kiyomasa.⁶⁰⁾ (He seems to have escaped by the middle of 1593.3.⁶¹⁾) The next day, court ministers reported that Kyŏk had given Kiyomasa a map of China (K. *Chungguk chido*).⁶²⁾ The specific mention of China may suggest that this transfer of geographical information about China, whose emperor had sent troops to fight the Japanese, greatly angered Korean officials. Kŭkham was later executed.⁶³⁾

Geographical information about China and Chosŏn had been handed to the enemy. This information is preserved in the veritable records for Sŏnjo's reign probably because the report came from princes, because Chosŏn had been invaded by a foreign ruler who wanted to conquer Ming China, and because the princes were accusing Kŭkham, who was a government official, and Kyŏk of aiding the enemy. It is unlikely, however, that a map like the world map preserved at Honmyŏji would have been kept in Hamgyŏng Province.

The northeast province was far from the capital, and cold and mountainous. Kings frequently banished officials and other subjects to the remote county of Hoeryŏng. Further, Jurchen communities, which had worried the Chosŏn government since its first years, dotted the province's northeast corner. Such communities also were located just north of the Tumen River, which separated the two countries in that area. Occasional raids on nearby Korean villages reinforced those concerns. Korean officials referred to Jurchens as, in a literal translation, "wild people" (*yain*), and disparaged them for their uncivilized ways.

As Jurchens frequently traveled to and from Chosŏn and Ming China by crossing the Tumen River, government offices in Hamgyŏng Province would more likely have held a country map of Chosŏn, provincial and local maps of the province, and one or more separate maps depicting all or portions of China. Such maps were not unknown to Korean officials. Yu Hŭich'un, a high-ranking member of the court, reported seeing a map of China (K. *Chungwŏn chido*) in Seoul in 1573.⁶⁴⁾ (Whether guided by a Korean map of China or not, Kiyomasa led a small band across the Tumen River into China in 1592.6, and engaged Jurchens in battle. He thus became the first of Hideyoshi's generals to enter China and to fight there.) Further, Kyŏngwŏn was not the provincial seat. If a world map like that at Honmyŏji were kept in a government office in Hamgyŏng Province, it most likely would have been stored in an office in the provin-

cial capital in Kyōngsōng County or perhaps at the headquarters of the Hamgyōng Province North Province Army Commander (K. *Pukto [Pyōngma] Chōltosa*, junior second grade) in Chongsōng County.

If Kiyomasa acquired the world map now at Honmyōji while he was in Chosōn, four other scenarios should perhaps be considered. In the first scenario, the world map from which Kyōk worked had been entrusted with one of the two princes that Kiyomasa captured before they departed the capital. The two princes fled into separate provinces, but when Japanese troops pushed into Kangwōn Province, south of Hamgyōng Province, the younger prince hurried northward and joined his older brother in Hamgyōng Province (The three other princes too each fled to a different province). Why, though, would a prince and his attendants carry a large object such as a world map when they must travel quickly and stealthily through the countryside? The Honmyōji map is 134.7×169.2 centimeters.

In the second scenario, acquisition or reproduction occurred after Kiyomasa entered Hansōng on 1592.5.3 and before he departed the capital for Hamgyōng Province on 1592.5.11. The map could have been found in the smoldering ruins of Kyōngbok Palace or nearby neighborhoods, which had burned in a fire set after King Sōnjo and his government had fled Hansōng by Koreans who sought to destroy state records of their low social status. Upon entering the capital, the Japanese armies without doubt moved through the city imposing control, surveying the city, and investigating damaged buildings. A residence, such as that of a government official or of a descendant of a former government official, inside or outside the capital may be another possible location where the world map could have been found.

In the third scenario, acquisition or reproduction occurred after Kiyomasa, his army, and the two princes reached Hansōng in early 1593. In the case of reproduction, preparation based upon a map in the capital and delivery to Kiyomasa must have occurred between their arrival in Hansōng on 1593.2.29 and the Japanese evacuation from Hansōng on 1593.4.18 (or 4.19, as is also cited). However, the activities of Kiyomasa, his officers, and his soldiers in Hansōng are difficult to track for lack of extant sources.

In the fourth scenario, if representatives of Kiyomasa remained in Hansōng while Kiyomasa was in the northeast, they may have acquired the world map or reproduced it from another text during that period. As Japanese armies did not enter Hansōng again after the evacuation, the world map could have reached Kiyomasa's hands only during this period between 1592.5.3 and 1593.4.18/19. Any of the last three scenarios seem plausible, with palace buildings, government offices outside Kyōngbok Palace, or private residences inside and outside the capital being likely places where a world map could have been held.

Returning to the world map at Honmyōji, the image of Japan will be described. This image too has been traced to one or more maps in *Haedong chegukki*.⁶⁵ The provinces were not shaped into ovals by boundary icons. As in the Tenri map, the capital, provinces, “Kamakura-dono” (written here, too, with the appropriate character for *kura*), and real islands are marked. The provinces in Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu were not separated by boundary lines, making this depiction distinctive among the four world maps. In the Tenri and Honmyōji maps, unlike as in the two *Kangnido*

maps, province names are capped with the Japanese administrative suffix *shū*, or province.

This representation, too, preserves mistakes. Among the province names, the second character in “Izumi” is incorrect (and the first character in “Sūō” appears to be incorrect). The first character in “Shimotsuke” was not written, and the second character in “Mimasaka” and in “Etchū” was not written. “Mimasaka” also lacks the administrative suffix *shū*; “Nagato,” “Tajima,” “Hida,” and “Mutsu” too lack the administrative suffix. Absent are the names for Oki, Aki, Wakasa, and Hitachi provinces. And both the island of Iki and the place name for that island are not marked.

Of particular interest for what they suggest about the composition of the image are the mistakes in the writing of the place names for Izumi Province and Chinju-fu, the latter a fossilized place name from earlier centuries. The second character in each term is incorrect. The second character in “Izumi,” 泉, was written rather with the character 川, or *kawa/sen* in Japanese readings. And the second character in “Chinju-fu,” 守, was written rather with the character 水, or *mizu/sui* in Japanese readings.

In both Japanese place names, the incorrect character and the correct character have the same reading in Korean. In “Izumi,” the appropriate second character, *izumi* (*sen*), and that written in the map, *kawa* (*sen*), are both read in Korean as “*ch’ŏn*.” In “Chinju-fu,” the appropriate second character *ju* and that written in the map, *mizu* (*sui*), are both read in Korean as “*su*.” These two mistakes suggest that the writer for this or an earlier generation world map may have been informed orally of these place names. That is, one or more individuals involved in the production of this or an earlier image may have been reading and/or pronouncing Japanese place names in Korean pronunciations, and not in Japanese pronunciations of the characters.

Transcription errors also may be found. One example is the writing of “Shirakawa-no-seki.” The second character, *ka/kawa*, in “Shirakawa” was written as 河. In this map, that character became 丁. If not copied from the base map, the scribe miswrote the second character in “Shirakawa-no-seki.” The error also suggests that the writer did not know Japanese, for the character 丁, as *chō/tō/tei* in Japanese, does not share a reading in Japanese with the character 河 in Japanese. A second example is the place name 濱自州. This place name likely derives from 濱任浦, which is marked in Nagato Province in the “Map of the Main Island of Japan.” The second character changed from 任 to 自 and the third character from 浦 to 州. If not copied from the base map, the scribe miswrote the second and third characters. The genealogies of these three errors cannot be traced, but the visual similarities in each of the three pairs of characters are suggestive of how the mistakes occurred. The errors suggest that the map-maker did not know Japanese geography well.

Other problems may be noted. One is the writing of “Paktadae” in northern Kyushu. That is, what appears to be a three-character form in the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* is found in this map, too. The “Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan” has the appropriate writing of “Hakata” as a two-character combination, and does not show the third character nearby. In the Inland Sea, the island province of Awaji is rendered as “Awaji-no-seki.” Of the mistakes noted in these three paragraphs, only “Awaji-no-seki” is also found in the Tenri map. This identification for Awaji Province does not appear in the two *Kangnido* world maps.

One place name may have been corrected in the Honmyōji map's image of Japan. The island of Iō, south of Kyushu, is written with three characters in the Honkōji and Tenri images, as 石硫黄. (This island is not in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*.) The first character, read as *ishi/seki* in Japanese and *sōk* in Korean, is not part of the standard writing of this place name. The standard writing appears in the "Overall Map of Countries across the Sea to the East" and the "Map of Kyushu, Saikaidō Circuit, Japan" as 硫黄島. The writing in the Honkōji and Tenri images may be an error based upon the second character, for the first character, 石, visually resembles the second character, 硫. The second and third characters in the Honkōji and Tenri images are the appropriate, two-character name for the island of Iō.

However, in the Honmyōji world map, the cartouche for this place name is large enough to hold three characters. This cartouche, like those for Amakusa-tsu, Onomichi-no-seki, and other data, was colored white before the characters were written, in black. Two characters are visible, 硫黄. The space for the first character is white, but it seems to have been colored a second time. The character 石 seems to be faintly visible through the white coloring. And the top horizontal stroke in the radical and the top vertical stroke and part of the next, horizontal stroke in the right half of the first visible character, 硫 (K. *yu*/J. *i*), seem to have been obscured by that second coloring. Whatever may be the reason for the space above the character J. *i*/K. *yu*, the place name visible in the Honmyōji image is the appropriate Japanese place name for Iō. This cartouche probably was shaped to present the three characters that appear in an earlier generation base map.

Similarities in the Honmyōji world map and the Tenri world map include their depictions of Japan (and Ryūkyū). The main islands, and also Ezogashima (current Hokkaido), are approximately the same shapes. Most of the written text for Japan in the Tenri map appears in the same phrasing or in the same characters in the Honmyōji map. And the distribution around Honshu of empty circular and rectangular shapes, some with rectangular cartouches and mountain icons drawn inside the circles and around the rectangular cartouches, largely matches in the two maps, though the cartouche for what almost certainly, given the location, is the imagined land of Gandō as represented in the Tenri map is empty in the Honmyōji map. With the exception of Gandō, all of the place names and other written text associated with Japan in the Tenri world map appear in the Honmyōji world map. And not marked in both maps are the island of Iki and the province name Iki.

The Tenri *Tae Myōng-guk to* and the Honmyōji *Tae Myōng-guk chido* vary from the Ryūoku *Kangnido* and the Honkōji *Kangnido* in their depictions of Japan in several ways. First, the former two maps have "Japan" and "capital" written in the capital province, the latter two maps present "Japan." Second, the former maps record the eight circuits into which Japan had been divided for administrative purposes in the seventh century, but the latter maps do not. Third, the former maps have the administrative suffix *shū*, or province, attached to (most) province names, but the latter maps report only the province name. Fourth, the former maps show Shima Province marked mistakenly as an island, and the latter maps have that province placed accurately in Honshu. Fifth, the former maps do not show the island of Iki or that place name, but the latter maps do. Sixth, the former maps have the island of Ōshima in

the inland sea, near Mikawa Province, in Honshu, but the latter maps do not show the island. Seventh, the former maps identify Mt. Fuji and accompany the name with descriptive text, but the latter maps do not identify the mountain or provide descriptive text. And eighth, the former maps record the note about the “southern sea,” but the latter maps do not.

***Haedong chegukki* Maps and the Tenri and Honmyōji World Maps**

The Korean king received *Haedong chegukki* as a manuscript text in early 1472. The Chosŏn court printed this report, including addenda that are thought to have been included at different times after 1472, in 1512.3, or perhaps by 1512.3. The government distributed *Haedong chegukki* to offices in the capital and in the three ports in Kyōngsang Province where Japanese could reside or engage in state-sanctioned trade. Those officials in Kyōngsang Province were involved in the regular management of interaction with Japanese. The report provided them with information about Japanese, listed interaction regulations, outlined the chronology of Japanese emperors, samurai governments, and Ryukyuan kings, introduced features of Japanese and Ryukyuan culture, and reported other information about these countries.

The maps in *Haedong chegukki* did not stand alone from the report’s main text, however. They supplemented the written text. They enabled the user to “see” where places in the government report were located in Japan and Ryukyu, and to follow trade ships from Japanese locations to the open port. The route from Pusan to the port of Hyōgo was traced in its own section in the main text, and could be retraced across the individual maps from Tsushima to Kyoto. The maps also allowed users to trace ship routes between various places in Japan and the island of Okinawa.

The images of Japan in the Tenri and Honmyōji maps and in their base maps were separated from *Haedong chegukki*, from the *Haedong chegukki* maps, and from the main text. No longer was Japan (or Ryukyu) embedded in a world of maritime interaction that linked Chosŏn, Japan, and Ryukyu. The features in *Haedong chegukki* maps that connected these countries through trade and diplomacy had not been reproduced, and almost certainly were not available to the Tenri *Tae Myōng-guk to* and the Honmyōji *Tae Myōng-guk chido* mapmakers through the base world maps which they referenced. The viewer could not know from the world map that Chosŏn, Japan, and Ryukyu formed a maritime interaction zone through which Japanese carried Southeast Asian goods acquired in, or via Ryukyu to Kyōngsang Province.

The images of Japan now filled a role established in the 1402 *Kangnido* and maintained in subsequent generations, as a basic feature of the world map. These representations were present in a knowable, replicated world that extended to continental Western Europe and Africa, and portrayed governance from the ruler in the capital through lower units of administration. That is, the mapmaker at the first usage of *Haedong chegukki* maps replicated the model provided by the earlier generation world map, of an administrative Japan in a world of individual polities such as that seen in the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* and the Honkōji *Kangnido*. The world maps atomized Japan. They recorded presence, but not connection through diplomacy and trade, in a larger world in which Chosŏn too belonged.

The emphasis on Japanese province names in these two world maps showing

Chosŏn of the sixteenth century distanced those representations from conditions in Japan, however. The images did not reflect the breakdown of provincial administration by state-appointed provisional governors (J. *shugo*) in the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century. They did not even hint at new divisions of territory within many of the provinces. These Korean maps of Japan were anachronistic in their emphasis on provinces and provincial administration.

Conclusion

In Chosŏn, Korean images of Japan were reproduced in new cultural and political contexts as well as in new visual texts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Pak Tonji's image of Japan is thought to have been the model for the island country in the 1402 *Kangnido*. The image of Japan in the 1402 *Kangnido* likely became the standard representation, and if not that in the 1402 *Kangnido* then the representation had become fixed by or with the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*. The maps of Japan in *Haedong chegukki* became base maps for the representation in a different type of world map, one that almost certainly preceded the Tenri and Honmyōji texts, but the representation followed that in earlier generations of world maps. The errors in the four images reiterate that each image was a record of knowledge of administrative and natural geographies in Japan at a specific moment in Chosŏn.

Discourses of Korean-Japanese relations in *Haedong chegukki* were not transferred from the mapping of maritime eastern Asia to the world map of individual countries in eastern Asia. The similarities in composition and data across the four world maps indicate that the style for the mapped Japan had been established earlier than the Tenri and Honmyōji texts, and probably earlier than the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*. To this extent, the Tenri and Honmyōji texts do not present a new map of Japan. Transfer over two or more generations in the Tenri and Honmyōji branch did not reproduce an image based upon *Haedong chegukki* maps. Transfer reproduced the base world map's image of Japan.

Notes

- 1) Quoted from Gari Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," in J. B. Harley and David Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography*, volume two, book two: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 245. For Kwŏn Kūn's government post, see *Taejong sillok* 3:31b–32a [1402.6.9].
- 2) *T'aejo sillok* 12:3b [1397.7.25]; *T'aejo sillok* 12:12a [1397.12.14]; *T'aejo sillok* 12:12a [1397.12.25]; *Chōngjong sillok* 1:13a–b [1399.5.19]; *Zoku Shigushō*, in *Kaitei zōho Kokushi taikēi*, vol. 14, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1931), 187; "Kyōto shōgun kafu," in *Koji ruien: Gaikō bu*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1978), 369.
- 3) *Chōngjong sillok* 1:13a–b [1399.5.16].
- 4) Nakamura Hidetaka, *Nissen kankeishi no kenkyū*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965), 364–365, 367 note 13; Chō Hoyū [Chang Poūng], "Richō shoki, 15 seiki ni oite sakusei saretā chizu ni kansuru kenkyū," *Chiri kagaku* no. 16 (1972), 3; Ōji Toshiaki, *Echizu no sekaizō*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 99; Tanaka Takeo, *Higashi Ajia tsūkōken to kokusai ninshiki*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1997), 129. O Sanghak suggests that the Chosŏn court used a map of Japan for the 1402 *Kangnido* that had been acquired prior to Pak Tonji's compilation (O Sanghak, "Chosŏn sidae ūi segye chido wa segye insik," *Chirihak nonch'ong* no. 43 (2001:8), 64–65).
- 5) *Chōngjong sillok* 1:13a–b [1399.5.16].
- 6) Chōn Sangun, *Hanguk kwahak kisulsa*, (Seoul: Kwahak segyesa, 1966), 242; Yi Ch'an, *Hanguk ko chido*,

- (Seoul: Hanguk tosŏgwanhak yŏnghoe, 1977), 190; Yi Sangt'ae, "Chosŏn ch'ogi ūi ko chido," *Sirhak sasang yŏngu* no. 2 (1991), 14; Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," 247; Unno Kazutaka, *Chizu no bunkashi: Sekai to Nihon*, (Tokyo: Yasaka shobō, 1996), 96; No Chŏngsik, *Hanguk ūi kosegye chido*, (Taegu, Republic of Korea: Taegu kyoyuk taehakkyo chaejik tongmunhoe, 1998), 27.
- 7) *Sejong sillok* 80:21a–b [1438.2.19].
 - 8) *T'aejong sillok* 2:6b–7a [1401.8.2].
 - 9) *Zoku Shigushō*, in *Kaitei zōho Kokushi taitei*, vol. 14, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1931), 203 [1401.9.16].
 - 10) *Sejong sillok* 80:21a–b [1438.2.19]; *T'aejong sillok* 3:27a [1402.5.14].
 - 11) Kenneth R. Robinson, "Chosŏn Korea in the Ryūkyō *Kangnido*: Dating the Oldest Extant Korean Map of the World (15th Century)," *Imago Mundi* vol. 59 no. 2 (June 2007), 177–192.
 - 12) *Sŏngjong sillok* 100:3a [1479.1.6]; *Sŏngjong sillok* 100:5a [1479.1.10]; *Sŏngjong sillok* 79:3a [1477.4.5]; *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 4:10b; *Sinjŏng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1959), 40:5a, 37:23a. The official appointed Chŏlla Province Left Province Navy Commander, Pak Kŏgyŏm, had served since 1477.4 as the Chŏlla Province Navy Commander, but he resigned on 1479.1.11 for age and health reasons (*Sŏngjong sillok* 100:5a [1479.1.11]). King Sŏngjong appointed his successor ten days later (*Sŏngjong sillok* 100:9b [1479.1.21]).
 - 13) *Sŏngjong sillok* 185:21b [1485.11.28]; *Sinjŏng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 9:16b; *Myŏngjong sillok* 21:43a–b [1556.10.20]; "Namyang-gun," in *Yŏji tosŏ*, vol. 1, (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1973), 73.
 - 14) Unno Kazutaka, "*Shūgaishō* koshahon ni okeru chizu (jō): Tenbun jūnananenbon o chūshin to shite," *Biburia* no. 101 (1994:5), 9.
 - 15) Unno Kazutaka, "*Shūgaishō* koshahon ni okeru chizu (ge): Tenbun jūnananenbon o chūshin to shite," *Biburia* no. 102 (1994:10), 4; *Shūgaishō*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1998), 153–154.
 - 16) Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," 247.
 - 17) Yi Ch'an, *Hanguk ūi kojido*, 324–325.
 - 18) For Japanese readings of the character 鎗 see Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 11, (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1959), 609, no. 40709. For the Korean reading of the character 鎗 see Tanguk Taehakkyo Tongyanghak Yŏnguso ed., *Hanguk hanjaŏ sajŏn*, vol. 4, (Seoul: Tanguk taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1996), 646.
 - 19) *Chŏngjong sillok* 1:13a–b [1399.5.15]; *Chŏngjong sillok* 2:11b [1399.9]; *Chŏngjong sillok* 5:11b [1400.8]; *T'aejong sillok* 2:12b [1401.9.29].
 - 20) Kwŏn Kūn, "Kim Chungch'an Hwibang kyŏng," in Kwŏn Kūn, *Yangch'on chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 7, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1990), 35:1b–3a; Song Hŭigyŏng, *Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok*, in Murai Shōsuke ed., *Rōshōdō Nihon kōroku: Chōsen shisetsu no mita chūsei Nihon*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1987), 200, 201, 227, 228, and 229.
 - 21) *Sejo sillok* 15:3b–4a [1459.1.10].
 - 22) Pak Sin, "P'oŭn sŏnsaeng si kwŏn sŏ," in Chŏng Mongju, *P'oŭn chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 5, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1990), 5:1a–4b (2a for the term); "P'oŭn sŏnsaeng nyŏnbo koi," in Chŏng Mongju, *P'oŭn chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 5, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1990), Nyŏnbo koi:1a–19a (9b for the term); Yi Yongin, "Song Chŏng talga pongsa Ilbon si sŏ," in Chŏng Mongju, *P'oŭn chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1990), Purok:3b–4b; "P'oŭn sŏnsaeng ponjŏn," in Chŏng Mongju, *P'oŭn chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 5, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1990), Ponjŏn:1b–13a (3a for the term); "*P'oŭn sŏnsaeng chip* haengjang," in Chŏng Mongju, *P'oŭn chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 5, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1990), Haengjang:1a–10a (3b for the term); *Sejong sillok* 11:3a–b [1422.1.13]; *Sejong sillok* (chiriji) 150:30a; *Sejo sillok* 16:1b–2b [1459.4.8]; *Sejo sillok* 17:15b–18a [1459.8.23]; Sin Suk-chu comp., *Haedong chegukki*, (Keijō: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1933), 68b. This combination appears in dozens of instances in texts included in collected writings of Chosŏn-period Korean officials and scholars.
 - 23) These three characters also appear on the Korean world map preserved at Honmyōji. This suggests that the Ryūkyō *Kangnido* may have been a source for, or as a source more distant in the cartogenalogy of the Honmyōji world map.
 - 24) In the Honkōji *Kangnido*, the portion of the map where "Tsugaru Ōsato" would likely have been writ-

ten is damaged. In Honmyōji's *Tae Myōng-guk kukto*, Tsugaru Ōsato was written as Tsugaru.

- 25) All references to maps in *Haedong chegukki* are to the text cited in note 17.
- 26) Kawamura Hirotada, "Shimabara-shi Honkōji zō 'Konitsu kyōri rekidai kokuto chizu' no naiyō to chizugakushi-teki igi," in *Shimabara-shi Honkōji shozō komonjo chōsa hōkokusho*, (Shimabara, Japan: Shimabara-shi kyōiku iinkai, 1994), 16, 18, 15.
- 27) Kawamura, "Shimabara-shi Honkōji zō 'Konitsu kyōri rekidai kokuto chizu' no naiyō to chizugakushi-teki igi," 18, 20; Unno Kazutaka, *Tōyō chirigakushi kenkyū, tairiku-hen*, (Osaka: Seibundō, 2004), 221, 223 (for the third dating).
- 28) *Chungjong sillok* 15:28a–b [1512.3.15]; *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* 50:8a–9b.
- 29) *Myōngjong sillok* 9:47a [1549.5.21]; *Sōnjo sillok* 1:2a–b [1567.10.12].
- 30) *Sōnjo sillok* 45:11b–12a [1593.Intercalary 11.4]; "Ch'ungwōn-hyōn," in *Yōji tosō*, vol. 1, (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1973), 256–257.
- 31) Unno, *Tōyō chirigakushi kenkyū, tairiku-hen*, 221.
- 32) *Myōngjong sillok* 20:1b–2b [1556.1.4].
- 33) O Sanghak, "Chosōn sidae ūi segye chido wa segye insik," *Chirihak nonch'ong* 43 (2001:8), 68–69.
- 34) *Chungjong sillok* 104:56a–57b [1544.9.26]. If the transfer from Kaeun to Haeun occurred relatively soon after 1544.9.26, pirate attacks in the spring and summer of 1544 may have influenced that decision. In the fourth month, some 200 men on some twenty ships in 1544.4 raided Saryang, in western Kyōngsang Province. Two other attacks occurred in Ch'ungch'ōng Province in the sixth month and in Chōlla Province early in the seventh month (*Chungjong sillok* 102:62a [1544.4.17]; Takahashi Kimiaki, "16 seiki chūki no kōtōsen to Chōsen no taiō," in Tanaka Takeo ed., *Zenkindai no Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 97–100). To speculate further, this flurry of attacks may have informed the re-opening of the Hwaryang Navy Commandery in Namyang County.
- 35) Kawamura, "Shimabara-shi Honkōji zō 'Konitsu kyōri rekidai kokuto chizu' no naiyō to chizugakushi-teki igi," 15, 17.
- 36) Hironaka Yoshio, "Shimabara-shi Honkōji zō 'Konitsu kyōri rekidai kokuto chizu' 1," *Chizu*, vol. 27 no. 3 (1989), 43–44.
- 37) See Osa Setsuko, "Kōji jūsanzen shōgatsu hizuke Ryūkyū kokuō-ate Chōsen kokuō Ri Yū [Yi Yung] (Ensankun [Yōnsan-gun]) kōkusho no seikaku," *Tōngbuk A munhwa yōngu* no. 4 (2003:4), 33–34.
- 38) Unno Kazutaka, "Tenri toshokan shozō Dai Min-koku zu ni tsuite," *Ōsaka gakuhei daigaku kiyō*, no. 6 (1957), 64.
- 39) Unno, "Tenri toshokan shozō Dai Min-koku zu ni tsuite," 65.
- 40) *Myōngjong sillok* 9:47a [1549.5.21]; *Sōnjo sillok* 1:2a–b [1567.10.12].
- 41) Unno, "Tenri toshokan shozō Dai Min-koku zu ni tsuite," 61.
- 42) Miya Noriko, *Mongoru teikoku ga unda sekaizu*, (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbun shuppansha, 2007), 158–160.
- 43) Akioka Takejirō, *Nihon chizushi*, (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1955), 81.
- 44) Kang Hang, *Kanyangnok*, in Kang Hang, *Suŭn chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 73, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1991), 8a–b.
- 45) Felicia G. Bock, *Classical Learning and Daoist Practices in Early Japan, with a Translation of Books XVI and XX of the Engi-Shiki*, (Tempe, AZ: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1985), 45. Also see Murai Shōsuke, *Ajia no naka no chūsei Nihon*, (Tokyo: Azekura shobō, 1988), 109, 114, and Amino Yoshihiko, "Deconstructing Japan," *East Asian History* no. 3 (1992), 139 Figure 9, for the four directions in additional Japanese texts through the Muromachi period.
- 46) For Japanese trade at Obama in the medieval period see Isao Soranaka, "Obama: The Rise and Decline of a Seaport," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 52 no. 1 (Spring 1997), 88–90.
- 47) *Chikamoto nikki*, in *Zoku shiryō taisei*, 10, (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1967), 349 [1465.7.13]. Also see the document dated 1474.8.9, in Takeuchi Rizō, "Tsushima no komonjo: Keichō izen no gohanbutsu," *Kyūshū bunkashi kenkyūjo kiyō* no. 1 (1951), 112–113.
- 48) *HC* 42a–43a; *Sōngjong sillok* 7:25a–b [1470.9.19].
- 49) *Sōngjong sillok* 69:15b–24a [1476.7.26].
- 50) *Haedong chegukki* 2a.
- 51) Akioka, *Nihon chizushi*, 80–81; Unno, "Tenri toshokan shozō Dai Min-koku zu ni tsuite," 60, 64. For a

- profile of the *Tae Myōng-guk chido* see *Honmyōji rekishi shiryō chōsa hōkokusho: Bijutsu kōgeihin hen*, (Kumamoto, Japan: Kumamoto kenritsu bijutsukan, 1981), 39–40.
- 52) All four world maps show Nangsōng-p'o, a port in Anbyōn County, Hamgyōng Province. Judging from the other ports identified in the four images of Chosōn, Nangsōng-p'o was included because it was the site of a naval base staffed by a Navy Sub-area Commander (K. *Sugun Manho*). The Chosōn court ordered the closure of this naval base on 1509.4.29 (*Chungjong sillok* 8:32b–34a [1509.4.29]; *Sinjōng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* 49:6a; Yōji tosō, vol. 2 [Seoul: T'amgudang, 1973], 217; *Tongguk yōjiji*, in *Chōnguk chiriji*, [Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1983], 460; *Pukkwan ūpchi* (1872), in *Ūpchi 13: Hamgyōng-do*, [Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1986], 317). The Chosōn court also closed the naval base at Toan, in Chōngp'yōng County, Hamgyōng Province, in 1509 (*Sinjōng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* 48:25a). Given the renaming of Kilsōng County as Kilchu on 1512.3.15, the presence of Nangsōng-p'o is appropriate only in the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*. Nangsōng-p'o had at some point in the reproduction of world maps after 1509.4 become a petrified place name in the image of Chosōn.
 - 53) Akioka, *Nihon chizushi*, 80.
 - 54) Unno, "Tenri toshokan shozō Dai Min-koku zu ni tsuite," 65.
 - 55) Akioka, *Nihon chizushi*, 80; Yi Ch'an, "Chosōn sidae ijōn ui chido," 326.
 - 56) Miya Noriko, *Mongoru jidai no shuppan bunka*, (Nagoya, Japan: Nagoya daigaku shuppankai, 2006), 600.
 - 57) "Kwanan," in *Pukkwan chi*, in *Chosōn sidae sach'an ūpchi*, vol. 44, *Hamgyōng-do* 7, (Seoul: Hanguk inmun kwahagwōn, 1990), 460; *Sōnjo sillok* 22:26a–b [1588.10.29]; *Sōnjo sillok* 30:21a–b [1592.9.25].
 - 58) Yu Sōngnyong, *Chingbirok*, (Keijō: Chōsen kosho kankōkai, 1913), 20–21. An English translation of this section is found in Yu Sōngnyong, *The Book of Corrections: Reflections on the National Crisis during the Japanese Invasion of Korea 1592–1598*, Choi Byonghon tr., (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 87–89. Where the veritable records note that Han Kūkham proceeded toward Kyōngwōn, Yu Sōngnyong wrote that Han continued toward Kyōngsōng. The two princes were, more specifically, the Imhaegun Yi Chin and the Sunhwagun Yi Po.
 - 59) *Sōnjo sillok* 38:14b [1593.5.14].
 - 60) *Sōnjo sillok* 36:7a–b [1593.3.4]; *Sōnjo sillok* 41:41b–42a [1593.8.17].
 - 61) *Sōnjo sillok* 36:28a [1593.3.16].
 - 62) *Sōnjo sillok* 38:15a [1593.5.15].
 - 63) *Sōnjo sillok* 22:26a–b [1588.10.29]; *Sōnjo sillok* 38:15a [1593.5.16].
 - 64) Yu Hūich'un, *Miam sōnsaeng chip*, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 34, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1989), 10:18b–19a [1573.5.24], 10:21b [1573.6.18].
 - 65) Akioka, *Nihon chizushi*, 81; Unno, "Tenri toshokan shozō Dai Min-koku zu ni tsuite," 63.

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